

# The Polish Review

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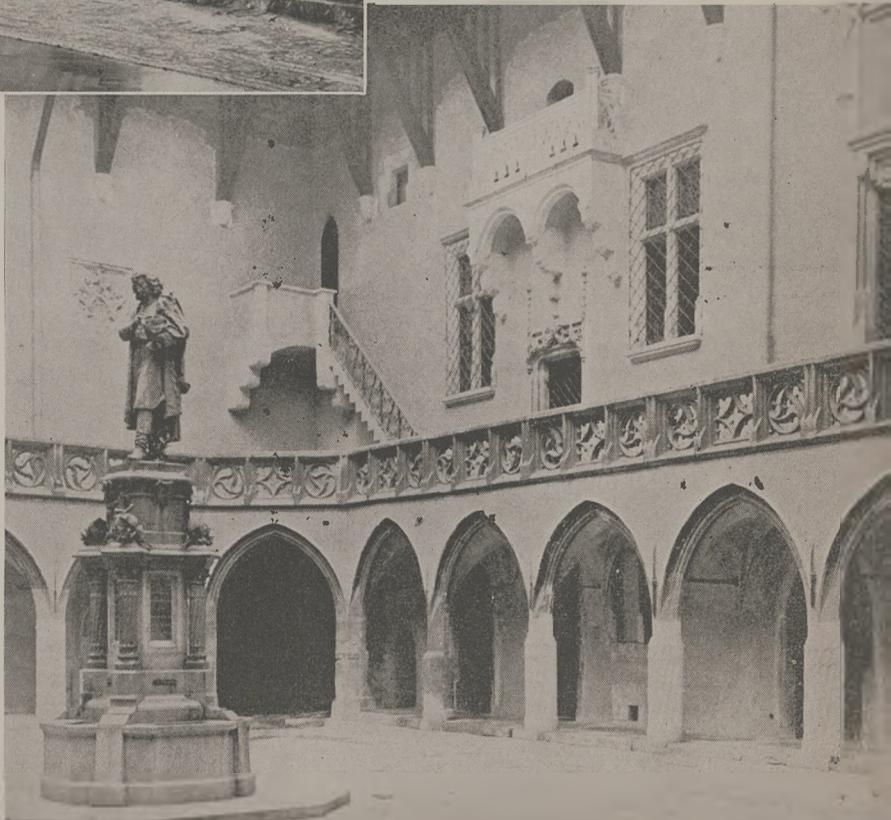
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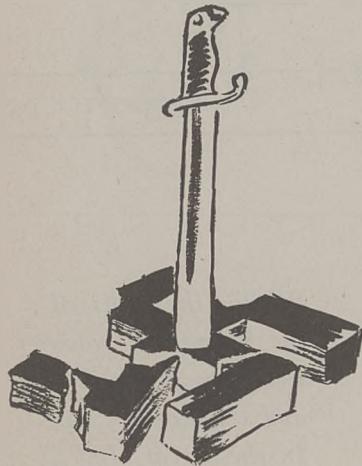


*Within the walls of the Wawel in Cracow were the Cathedral and the Royal Castle. In the Great Hall a Hohenzollern knelt before the King of Poland to receive the fee of East Prussia. The Wawel is now the residence of the Nazi Governor General and the Great Hall used as a "Bierstube" for German soldiers.*

Cracow University was founded in 1364 by Casimir the Great, King of Poland, and enlarged in 1400 by King Jagiello whose name it assumed. It was the great seat of learning in Eastern Europe and within its walls Copernicus discovered the solar system. Closed by the Nazis, its wonderful library carried off to Berlin, it is now a "Soldatenheim." (See *The Mark of the Beast*, on page 3)



# POLAND SPEAKS . . .



**A**FTER an incredible journey of many months across war-infested Europe, the Polish "Manifesto to the Peoples of the World" has reached Great Britain and the United States. This manifesto was issued by a National Convention of Polish underground organizations at which 2,000 illegal groups were represented. In order to understand the full significance of this document, it is necessary to know something of its history and background.

Immediately following Poland's military defeat, a mass underground movement sprang up in Poland. After many months, the German attempt to subject Poland to the iron rule of the "New Order" is still far from successful. The Germans have encountered fierce resistance on the part of the Polish working masses, indomitable opposition of a strength they never reckoned on. Sabotage, guerilla warfare, refusal to work, illegal publications, farmers' rebellions—these are the main expressions of the people's resistance, against which the Gestapo is impotent. The Germans cannot penetrate to the core of Polish life, they cannot find the slightest foothold among the Polish people. In Poland there are no Quislings, no "collaborationists." The Nazi rule can be maintained only through terror, through a deliberate attempt to destroy the nation by firing squads and hangmen—but that takes time, and the results are far from certain.

The "Manifesto to the Peoples of the World" reflects the aspirations of the Polish working masses. It is the proof and product of their strength. This voice of underground Poland, this call to battle which had its birth under conditions of stress and terror, not only reveals to the world the suffering of Poland, but also the strength and maturity of the Polish masses. It is truly the voice of the new forces which will decide the future of Poland and of Europe.

The document has reached the United States after a journey of some months. The international situation has changed considerably since the time of its writing. But the Polish people are still doing their utmost in the fight against our chief enemy, in their rear attack on the war machine of Nazi Germany which again is passing through Polish territory.

## TO THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD!

. . . The organized workers, peasants, and intellectuals of occupied Poland through the secret convention of their delegates, representing over two thousand groups, proclaim their solidarity with the social and political aspirations of the working people of the world. In the name of the Polish people, we call to the peoples of Europe and of the world to join with us in the struggle against totalitarian tyranny.

We were the first to oppose the barbarian onslaught against free peoples. The first victims of the superiority of the brute force and its military machine, we were also the first to begin underground resistance against the invader whose iron heel tramples Poland and the other countries of Europe. All who fight against the tyranny and crimes of Nazi-totalitarianism are our natural allies. To them we address this message.

In September, 1939, the invader overran Poland. Those were grim and desparate days, but they shone with the heroism of thousands of Polish soldiers who gave their lives in the battle of Kutno, with the rare courage of the soldiers of Westerplatte, the magnificent defense of Hel, the bravery of the workers of Gdynia, Warsaw, and Lwow, and

the stubborn courage of the Eastern army. They were days of bloody sacrifice, when thousands of soldiers and civilians, men, women, and children, died in defense of their freedom. They shine compared with the darkness of life under the occupation.

In the first weeks of the occupation, hundreds of death sentences were made public. People were executed for tearing off German propaganda posters ridiculing Poland, for having a gun, for listening to the radio, for living in a house where a person wanted by the authorities was hidden. After several weeks, however, German authorities ceased to publish such sentences. The lists have grown too long. Since then these official murders have been conducted in greatest secrecy. But can the brutal massacre of ten thousand Poles in Bydgoszcz be kept secret? Do we not know about the bloody executions in Wawer, Lukow, Czestochowa, Starachowice, in every city and township, in thousands of villages? Nearly two hundred thousand people were shot in Poland in one year. One spot alone, in Palmiry, near Warsaw, hides five thousand murdered people whose graves were plowed under and deliberately concealed under newly constructed roads. There are the dreary secret cemeteries in the Parliament garden and in the citadel in Warsaw. There are the fields near Radom, Lublin, Kielce.

The number of executions during one year of occupation far exceeds the number killed in the war that ravaged Poland in September, 1939.

Our people were murdered in cold blood, shot down with rifles and machine-guns, killed by hand grenades thrown at them while they were bound, shot in the back of the head. Many more are dying today under torture in concentration camps which imprison numberless of hundreds of thousands. Most of the prisoners were sent to concentration camps. Lodz and Lublin, Piotrkow, Radom, Kielce, every town and village contributed hundreds of people to these camps. Every time a Nazi official

(Please turn to page 11)

# THE MARK OF THE BEAST

by HENRY NOBLE HALL

*The Polish Government has presented a Note to the Allied and Neutral Governments protesting against the many violations of international law committed by Germany in her invasion and occupation of Poland. This protest, supported by documentary evidence, will shortly be published.*

IN the long history of man's inhumanity to man, surely there is nothing like the Polish Atrocities report just issued. Here is revealed the fate that awaits Hitler's victims. The murder of a nation and the reduction to a state of servitude of its former inhabitants by the actual killing off of all the best citizens, the mass-deportation of the middle classes and the scientific sapping of the physical strength of the people accompanied by the deliberate abasement of their morals through alcoholism, debauchery and gambling. No man can read this without a blush, no woman without a shudder.

Here in black type on white paper, shrouded in diplomatic jargon as violations of this or that article of the Laws and Customs of War on Land (The IV Hague Convention)—not in the least that Hitler cares—we are told how 200,000 people were murdered in cold blood, how one million others were driven from their homes, allowed to take with them only one suitcase with personal effects, so that Germans from the Ukraine, the Baltic States and the Tyrol might take their places. Doctors, lawyers, butchers, bakers, small business men—the backbone of a Democracy—deported hundreds of miles away, their homes and cherished possessions, their goods and stocks-in-trade, given to strangers.

Mass deportations were usually carried out at night, the people driven from their homes to the station and there despatched in freight vans, horse cars and sometimes in open trucks, with the thermometer standing at 20 to 25 below zero fahrenheit. The cars were locked and no one was allowed to leave till the destination was reached three, ten days later. Food thrown to them by the guards was soiled by their own excrements if it fell on the floor. Cases of child birth occurred. What wonder

that when opened some of the trains contained only frozen corpses.

Yet the victims of mass deportation were better off than those sent to concentration camps, made to labor in the quarries for fifteen hours at a stretch, made to "exercise" till they dropped from sheer exhaustion, made to rub the floors with their noses till their faces were a mass of blood, whipped with every refinement of cruelty so as to increase the pain to the utmost. Out of 650 Catholic priests in Polish Pomerania, 630 were sent to concentration camps, many died there with Protestant clergymen, university professors, scientists, judges, members of the bar, medical men, representatives of all the liberal professions.



The Unspeakable Fate

German Photo

out were shot for their pains. The report records that this expedition was commanded by a German nobleman—God save the mark—Count Werner von Alvensleben!

In Warsaw 180 hostages were massacred because a prisoner had escaped and failed to give himself up voluntarily as ordered by the police. At Wawer at two o'clock in the morning the village was surrounded and 107 men, from 15 to 60 years of age were torn from their beds and machine gunned in the market place.

This now was the fate of the women! Many instances of collective raping are reported, but that happened in the last war in Belgium and in France: a detachment of soldiers would be sent into a village to rape every woman they could find. Then there were mass raids in the cities to carry off all the good looking girls and send them to houses of prostitution reserved for German officers and soldiers.

(Please turn to page 4)

*(Continued from page 3)*

Countless young women, ordered to report for agricultural work, were sent to brothels in Germany.

This was openly done and the German authorities publicly stated that the sending of young Polish women to houses of prostitution was a method of repression deliberately applied. When the German police searched Polish houses, they would force the women to strip and dance naked, or when too old to dance would make them clean the floors with the underclothes torn from their bodies.

Collective terrorism is Germany's favorite weapon against defenceless civilians, but it has greater effect when bodies are weakened by under-nourishment. Nowhere has Germany used food-control to sap the physical strength of a people more ruthlessly than in Poland. From one-sixth to one-third a normal ration is all the civilians get, and Polish prisoners of war in Germany fare no better.

To the deliberate weakening of bodies, the Germans have added the scientific corruption of minds. All religious belief and patriotic feeling must be extirpated from the rising generation. To abase the morals of the people the invaders do all they can to increase the consumption of alcohol. The output is five times what it was, and spirits are distributed free to peasants as a premium for the delivery of the prescribed quantities of grain. Gambling, severely prohibited by Polish legislation, has been reintroduced and is encouraged in public places.

Something more was needed. The youth of both sexes is incited to abandon all restraint in their relations. Pornographic sketches are of set purpose included in the theatre programmes tolerated for the Polish population. No serious drama or opera is allowed, no sacred or classical or martial music, no popular or patriotic songs, but everywhere cheap lewdness and incitement to vice.

The pillage of Churches, the destruction or theft of works of art, libraries, etc., is here set forth in detail, as is the dynamiting of monuments commemorative of Polish heroes and great events in Polish history. The complete elimination of all secondary and university education, except manual training schools, the distortion of primary education to prepare the Poles for their ordained state of servitude, the active teaching of atheism, and of Nazi and Communist doctrines, on either side of the partition line, are all part of the same plan.

Compared to these things what matter the attacks on property. The confiscation of all worth-while industries, the tearing up of Polish railroads not of use to Germany for strategic purposes and the shipping of the rails to the Reich. This went with

the dismantling of all secondary industrial plants, machines and other tools being sent to factories in the Ruhr, the rest treated as scrap.

And what was the fate of the Royal Palace in Warsaw and the Wavel at Cracow, those heirlooms of Poland's glorious past. The former injured by bombing was not allowed to be repaired. Pending a decision as to whether it was to be blown up, the Germans sacked it. All metal work, even the beautifully carved bronze ornaments, was treated as scrap. The wood work and the panelling, the marbles and statues were hacked out with axes. The painted ceilings, one a masterpiece by Baccia-relli, were destroyed.

At Cracow, the Wavel, the age-old residence of the Kings of Poland, where the German Governor General lives, was treated in a manner worthy of its present master. The Gothic Hall is now a "Bierstube", the Hall of Knights a "weinstube", and the Kurza Stopka, the lovely loggia of Queen Jadwiga, that tourists stopped to admire, is used as a lavatory.

## TREATMENT OF WOMEN

*(Excerpt from the Official Polish Note)*

"Polish women are subjected to particularly humiliating and barbarous treatment by German officers, soldiers and officials. The Polish Government is in possession of abundant proof that many cases of collective rape have occurred. The German police have repeatedly organised raids in various towns, for the purpose of abducting young women who have subsequently been placed in brothels frequented by German officers and soldiers. In numerous cases young women have been arrested on the streets or even in their homes, on the pretext that they were needed for agricultural work and carried off into brothels for the soldiery in Germany. The German authorities themselves have admitted that the placing of young Polish women in the brothels constitutes a measure of repression that they are applying deliberately.

"The Polish Government can only guess at the number of young women thus snatched away from their families to be thrown into German brothels and condemned to a life of dishonour and ignominy, but that it is very large is shown by the frequency with which advertisements of parents searching for their daughters who have suddenly vanished, appear in the papers.

"In the course of numerous searches carried out in the homes of Polish citizens German policemen have forced the women to undress, to dance naked, or to scrub, with the underwear torn from their bodies, the stairs or the floors."

# OUT OF THE JAWS OF DEFEAT

ON June 18th, 1940, the seemingly impossible came to pass. France collapsed and the French army ceased to fight. This greatest tragedy in the history of a noble nation caught the world unawares. Events followed one upon the other with the rapidity of an avalanche.

The Polish army in France, numbering about 90,000 men, and the Polish Government in exile, faced capture by the Germans, a disaster that could only be averted by immediate help from Britain. There was not a moment to be lost. On June 17th two Polish Divisions, their flanks left unprotected by the French retreat, were fighting on the north-eastern front and in the Vosges, the Highland brigade returning from Narvik was being landed at Bordeaux. Supply detachments and reserves lacking arms and equipment were scattered at Angers and all over France. Delay would have sealed the fate of the Polish Government and army in France.

General Sikorski left the front and got in touch with President Raczkiewicz and called a joint meeting of the Polish Government and Polish National Council. When he had made his report the following decisions were unanimously reached:

1. Poland would continue fighting even if France capitulated;
2. The President of the Republic would leave immediately for England, the allied country that continued fighting.

The Polish General Staff worked feverishly all night of June 17th-18th preparing for all possible eventualities and making plans to get the greatest possible number of Polish troops to the South-Western shore of France.

Early on the morning of June 18th, a British bomber started from an English airfield. His pilot had orders to find Gen. Sikorski at all costs—even were he already surrounded by Germans. After a few hours the flier landed near Libourne, in south-western France, where he found the President and members of the Polish Government.



Polish infantry in France

The race against time had begun.

The Polish commander had just learned that as a result of the armistice, the Germans would occupy the French Atlantic coast. What could the Polish army do in such an eventuality? How could they leave France? And reports had it that the Germans were already nearing Bordeaux.

At 5 o'clock, General Sikorski boarded the British bomber. To gain time they were flying in the direction of Nantes, which was being bombed by the Germans. He reached Croydon at 11 P.M. and went at once to the Polish embassy where he said:

(Please turn to next page)



Polish machine-gun nest in France

"France has collapsed. We continue fighting. Try to get me an interview with Mr. Churchill tomorrow, also arrange for conferences at the War Office, the Admiralty and the Air Ministry. And now, to work."

During that memorable night he prepared an outline of an Anglo-Polish military agreement, a plan for the evacuation of the Polish army from France, orders for his army and instructions for Polish civil authorities. While he was in London telegrams were being delivered to him almost every few minutes from the Polish government and from Polish military commanders who were leading their armed forces with every possible speed in the direction of six South-Western ports of France.

At noon on June 19th, Gen. Sikorski had a conference with Prime Minister Churchill.

"Mr. Prime Minister"—he said—"Poland continues fighting. I place at your disposal all the Polish armed forces now on the territories of the French Empire. We want to fight. We know that England will fight. But I want to hear it directly from you."

Churchill leaped from his seat:

"General"—he replied—"We shall be with you through thick and thin."

The conference lasted for an hour and a half but when it ended the two men had reached a thorough understanding and the principles of future political and military Anglo-Polish collaboration were settled.

A series of technical conferences with members of the Government and their staffs began at 3 o'clock. At 7 P.M. that very day English boats had begun the evacuation of Polish troops from South-Western France.



10, Downing Street,  
Whitehall.

On behalf of the Government and people of Great Britain, I am very glad to write this line of welcome to every Polish soldier, sailor or airman who has found his way over to help us fight and win the war.

I have heard of the difficulties which have beset your journeys to this country: I realise the hardships which your relatives and friends are undergoing in Poland: but I know that these will only inspire you to further deeds of endurance and valour for which your nation is so justly renowned.

Until the hour comes when through our united efforts you return to your own country, we in Great Britain hope that you will find amongst us a happy, if temporary, home. Together with our joint Allies, we look forward to the day when victory will crown our efforts and we shall help to build a new and better Europe. I know that the Polish forces on land and sea and in the air will play a worthy part in achieving this goal.

*Winston S. Churchill*

3rd September, 1940.

Previously issued orders were now confirmed by radio:

The First and Second Polish Division fighting in the Vosges mountains in the North of France, were ordered to hammer their way through to French ports and in case this could not be done to cross the border to Switzerland. As a matter of fact, a number of Polish troops were obliged to do this and are now interned there.

The Polish Brigade in Syria was ordered to break through to Palestine in case Gen. Mittelhauser's

# GENERAL SIKORSKI'S LETTER

POLISH PRIME MINISTER

LONDON

The British people received the armed forces of Poland with extraordinary cordiality and hospitality. We are grateful to that nation for this sincere sympathy and we reaffirm our determination to fight implacably side by side with armed forces of Great Britain till victory is achieved.

So long as we remain on British soil we must take care that our good name as honoured guests should equal the highest traditions of Polish honour and integrity. Obedience, cleanliness, honesty and, more than anything else, the love of truth, as the principal source of the strength of this great nation, these are the qualities of our generous hosts which we must emulate. The art of lying, which Adolf Hitler has perfected so skillfully, must lose in the end. Let us earnestly endeavour in the meantime to turn the sympathy of the British nation into a friendship of far-reaching political consequences for Poland, for which we are fighting.

Polish soldiers, sailors and airmen, I know that I can safely entrust to you the honour of our nation. And when, with the blessing of God, we shall return to our Mother country, we shall not only remember for ever the brotherly feelings, which were shown to us here, in the days of our exile, but conscious of the community of our interests, we shall, together with Great Britain, build up a new and better Europe.

20th. September, 1940.

*Sikorski*

army should stop fighting. All Polish detachments in the South or West of France were told to reach Western Ports by forced marches and to board British boats.

Thanks to the lightning speed with which these decisions were taken, and to efficient and heroic assistance of the British Navy, the evacuation of the Polish troops in France was accomplished in record time.

Thirty-five hours after having landed on English soil, Gen. Sikorski again boarded a British plane to supervise the evacuation of his troops in France.

Within five days British boats had taken on board nearly half of all Polish soldiers on French soil. These were the men who now mount guard on the shores of Scotland. With them came Poland's avenging eagles, the Polish aviators whose record-breaking feats of bravery are daily reported from England — and whose banners flying in the wind tell the world that—  
**POLAND CONTINUES FIGHTING!**

## BACK IN BATTLE DRESS

THE first Polish camp in Scotland was established in a stately old park full of magnificent oaks, growing around an ancient palace of Stuart days. Beautiful lakes and ponds gleamed as in a 17th century painting. A great carpet of velvety green grass spread beneath the countless cone-shaped tents.

"Is it true that the nomadic people of Poland live in tents?"

Some of the soldiers, yearning for a change in

the camp menu, which by the way was excellent, took to all kinds of hunting.

"Hunting, fishing and setting snares is not permitted while on allied territory," intervened the Polish command.

Two weeks later, however, the British authorities discovered that numerous rabbits were devastating the crops and doing great damage in the fields and gardens.



King George VI and Queen Elizabeth chatting with soldiers of the Polish armored brigade

A new order was posted by the local authorities: The noxious rabbits were to be caught, shot, or otherwise exterminated. Snares were to be laid. Whoever destroyed these abominable, destructive animals was doing his share for Victory. The best thing was to entrust school children with the work, for which they displayed great enthusiasm.

But not all school children knew how to go about snaring rabbits. They inquired of their teacher, who told them:

"If I only knew. Once upon a time I did know. Ask the Polish soldiers. They will teach you." And so the question was settled.

#### V

Slowly, from a great military formation that had melted during the French defeat and was divided into units, the new organization started to grow up. During the French defeat, the officers became separated from their men. Also there was a heavy loss of officers of higher rank.

Lovers of city life were sighing for London.

Then the call for volunteers came. Almost everyone wanted to extricate himself from the patient, waiting infantry to the magnificent air arm that, under the skies of Southern England, was daily bringing down more than its quota of German planes. Alas! to get into the Polish Air Force was much more difficult than snaring rabbits or winning the hearts of ladies.

Finally the red-tape came. The long arms of the Administrative Staff, the spider's web of rubrics and formulae, entangled the army anew. Once more every

officer and soldier was compelled to give his mother's maiden name, the date of his father's birth, his last address in Poland, to reveal whether he was single or married, the number of his children, his previous calling, and many other details of the past life that war had made distant and hazy, as hazy as were to the Scots, Zakopane and Sroda, Lyczakow and Babia Gora, Kuty and Kutno.

Then began the reorganization of the army into entirely new or almost new units. The time for re-equipment followed. French uniforms were changed for English battle-dress. Experts said they lost nothing in the change. Instead of French arms they received English arms.

"By George!"—many of them lamented—"For the third time, with a third type of rifle, each different from the other, I must learn anew: 'Shoulder arms! Stand at ease! Present arms!' First in Polish, then in French, now in English. Each time it is all different. Always beginning again from the beginning. See

now how these new rifles need more polishing especially in this Scot's mist, for they rust overnight."

Overhearing these remarks, the Lieutenant issued to the men a double amount of grease, and ordered all arms cleaned three hours longer than usual.

Such were the beginnings of the new army.

#### V

In the meantime autumn arrived. It was the soldiers' first autumn in a foreign country, for the first since 1939.

Autumn in Poland is the most beautiful and best loved of seasons. It lasts from the end of August until the first



U. S. A. Ambassador Anthony J. Drexel, Jr. renews old Warsaw friendships with officers of the Polish Mechanized Force

A Polish patrol on the fortified coast of Scotland

frost which comes in mid-November. The lovely weather lasts through many weeks. The days are dry and sunny, but cool. Alas, such was the beautiful weather that made it easy for German tanks to move over the Polish plateau.

Now, the Polish soldiers were experiencing the autumn of their wanderings, their first Scottish autumn.

Heather, fern, and grass on the distant highlands began to fade and redden. The leaves of the huge trees turned yellow and brown. The fields once harvested, were plowed as in Poland. Sometimes in the furrows the plow uncovered rocky ground, sometimes black dirt. In Poland the fields are ploughed in the same way at this time. The sky grew darker, the stars shone more brightly. During the nights, when the sleepy camp was guarded, the soldiers gazed on those stars, because they were the same as used to shine during the same cool nights over their beloved Poland.

It is not only the soldier's rifle that rusts during the cold weather and rainy days, the human soul rusts also if it is not oiled. Memories of the home country, kind words, a hospitable hearth, and friendliness are oil for the soul. If the trees of the country in which he stays



Prime Minister Winston Churchill and General Sikorski reviewing Polish infantry  
"somewhere in Scotland"

seem not to be like those of his own country, if the child on the street does not smile trustfully as a child from his own dusty roads, if the woman he meets does not have a look which he remembers from his own women of old, then his soul rusts.

The soul rusts also in the night, when no stars shine from the sky.

# HITLER'S PLAN FOR RUSSIA

by PETER MATTHEWS

**T**HREE are signs that the technique of German aggression is becoming formalized from much use. The "incriminating documents found in the railway carriage," which turn up so opportunely before each attack, savour of a writer of detective stories whose anecdotes are nothing more than a series of variations on the same hackneyed theme.

To regard the "New Order" as being upheld solely by the jackboot of the Gestapo is to underrate the wiliness of the Teuton. The secret police, with its horde of paid informers, recruited from the underworlds, is ever-present—indeed one is inclined to wonder whether the supply of competent Gestapo officials is still insufficient for the enormous tasks which they have to perform. But there are two other well-established processes whereby the Germans seek to weaken the spirit of resistance in the areas where they have established themselves.

Germany's successes would not have been achieved if the Reich had not been surrounded by States all of which were considerably smaller and weaker than the Reich itself. Thus it was natural that the Germans in the attempt to support their "New Order," should seek to weaken existing States by dividing them, and to foster existing enmities between peoples which, had they been more united, could have prevented Germany's rise to temporary predominance. Wherever the Germans have established themselves, they have struck at the existing state-structures, lopping off territory wherever some racial pretext existed, and fostering real or supposed regionalism; in fact, they have copied a French expedient which roused the Germans themselves to paroxysms of fury, namely, the French support of the Rhineland separatists. And, in every country which they have occupied, they have sought to create a vested interest in the "new order" by favouring races which had grievances against the existing state of things.

Thus, even if no evidence were available to foreshadow Hitler's plans for Russia, it would not be difficult to outline the crime in advance. A large and powerful, or potentially powerful, Russian State would be inimical to the interests of the Third Reich, even if the Bolshevik regime had been overthrown and replaced by a government of Quislings. For Hitler, who has so ceaselessly attacked the *Kleinstaaterei* of Versailles, would always rather deal with a large number of subject Slovaks than with a few large client States. A large Russia, even if it had been weaned from its adherence to Bolshevism, might exercise an attraction over the other Slav puppet States and "Protectorates" by a return to the Panslavism of pre-war Tsarist Russia. The very essence of the "New Order" is the sowing and fostering of disunity. And it has always been part and parcel of Nazi propaganda, except during the two

years of feigned friendship for "the other great socialist revolution," to depict Moscow as exercising an unwanted sway over "colonial areas" which comprised three-quarters of the territory of the U.S.S.R.

The Baltic States were the most obvious field for German operations against the unity of Soviet Russia. Their incorporation in the Soviet Union was less than two years old and, though considerable elements of the population are bitterly hostile to Germany as represented by the Baltic Barons, there was also considerable hostility to the Soviet Union, and the period of Soviet occupation had not been long enough for propaganda to mould opinion in the sense which the Moscow Government desired. A considerable "fifth column" was to be expected in the Baltic States, and this expectation appears to have been fulfilled. But no evidence is available of "fifth column" activity elsewhere.

The Baltic "fifth column" will probably be rewarded by the restoration of a nominal independence to Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia. And suitable rewards are doubtless expected by Germany's associates in the attack upon Russia. Finland may not be content with the return of the territory taken from her after the Russo-Finnish War, but may demand a frontier running along a line from Lake Ladoga to a point on the South-Western extension of the White Sea. Rumania will doubtless require the return of Bessarabia—though the Germans will delude themselves if they suppose that the return of this province will console the Rumanian people for the loss of Transylvania. It may be assumed that Hungary, which has so assiduously garnered the pickings of German aggression, will require a price for her collaboration. And Japan, though she has refrained from entering the war against Russia so far, will no doubt lay claim to territory on the Siberian mainland and to the oil-bearing land of Sakhalin, as well as to the much-coveted fisheries which have often been a source of dispute with the Soviet Union.

But the distribution of prizes from the fringe of the Russian continent would be but the beginning of the process of dismemberment. German designs on the Ukraine constitute the best-known, but by no means the only, project in this sense to which Hitler looks forward. Hitler might seize upon the fact that the Soviet Union is, in form, a federation, in order to proclaim the total independence of the component Republics. Such a process would fit into the Nazi plan of reducing Europe to a cluster of puny, independent States, all of them tied hand and foot to Germany. It is known that the invading German armies are accompanied by the usual galaxy of assorted quislings, men of the stamp of

Ante Pavelic, the expert in assassination; for the Ukrainians, a scion of the house of Skoropadski is being kept in readiness; no doubt there are Georgians, Armenians and Azebadjanians also, as well as White Russians, and even perhaps "White" White Russians.

But what is most relevant to the future of the war in this gigantic enterprise is that its ultimate objective is the establishment in Russia of Governments which will carry out Hitler's orders as faithfully as do the Men of Vichy and the obscure masters of puppet Slovakia or Croatia. Wherever Hitler has overthrown a State or a regime, his first care has been to ensure that the resources of that State are harnessed to the German war effort. Indeed, Hitler's decision to attack Russia may well have been prompted in part by the encouraging spectacle of Vichy's compliance with his designs.

With his customary guile, Hitler conceals this project behind the facade of the anti-Bolshevik crusade; it is even reported that his propaganda has persuaded some thousands of artless Frenchmen to contribute to the further enslavement of their country by enlisting for service on the Eastern Front; Hitler hoped, furthermore, that the Catholic Church will requite him for his persecution of German Catholicism by giving its blessings to the new campaign.

In England as well as in Poland, at any rate, the sudden unfurling by Hitler of the crumpled and faded banner of anti-Communism has failed to produce the division of opinion for which the Nazis hoped. But those people who, whilst they applaud Russian resistance, nevertheless contemplate with equanimity the possibility that the Soviet regime may be overthrown, would do well to picture to themselves what sort of a regime Hitler is likely to set up in its place.

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(Continued from page 2)

has to pass through a city, every preparation of a military offensive, every Polish memorial day brings new arrests, new deportations to concentration camps, which are tantamount to a sentence of death. The families of the victims are then notified by a brief telegram or letter from the Gestapo, informing them that the remains of the "deceased" may be obtained on payment of seven marks. Life in the penal camps is a moral and physical hell. Nazi ingenuity knows no bounds in the invention of torture. The prisoners are driven out in the bitterest frost in light clothing, forced to carry weights in outstretched arms, to do calisthenics for hours. Those who collapse are beaten into unconsciousness. Life is a round of endless brutal beatings, without

provocation, without cause, merely to sate the sadism of the tormentors. Dozens of people are martyred daily by wanton cruelty.

But what of the rest of the nation? Herr Ley, the Leader of the Labor Front, one of the chiefs of the Nazi State, has declared that a German's wish is law. For us there are no laws, no security. Either today, or tomorrow, in a street car, on the street, at home, anyone may be seized and sent to prison or to a concentration camp.

We are crushed under the invader's heel. His arbitrary decrees affect every section of the population. First the Jews are shut up into ghettos, condemned to slavery and hunger, to heavy and often senseless labor; then special districts are designated for Poles, and quotas of slaves for work in Germany imposed upon them. Approximately twenty thousand Jews have been drafted for labor duty, and half a million Poles have been deported to Germany for forced labor.

The deliberate extermination of the people is accompanied by the systematic destruction of the country's economic life. Only the most profitable enterprises are retained, merely to be given to some favored German. Landed estates and farms, factories, private and co-operative shops are being expropriated by the Nazi looters. The populations of entire villages in Poznan, Pomorze, Kalisz, Lodz, in the whole area annexed by the Reich, have been deported. The farms from which the peasants were driven with nothing but a bundle on their backs, are being converted into model settlements for Germans from the Baltic countries, from Volhynia, Bessarabia, Roumania. The peasants' property is given to them. With truly Prussian brazenness, Herr Greisser declared at Poznan that in ten years there will not be a single ear of grain in the lands annexed from Poland which has not been grown by a German hand.

The sinister plan for creating a 'Herrenvolk' (Master race) and of enslaving the Polish people is in full sway.

Under Hitler's domination we are doomed to enslavement and to extinction as a nation. Each German soldier is promised that he will become a lord in Poland when the war is over. And should there be lack of space here for all these masters, other countries are available. Czechoslovakia, Roumania, France, Belgium, Holland, Denmark and Norway—these provide ample territory to realize the dream of a master race.

In the execution of his plans of violence and robbery Hitler found ready allies in Italian Fascism, emboldened by the impunity of its aggression against Ethiopia and Albania . . .

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. . . The criminal extermination of Poland and its people is today taking place before the eyes of the world. Unprecedented brutality cloaks itself in phrases about the 'new European and World order.' We are a living example of this 'New Order.' Herr Gurtner, the German Minister of Justice, declared in Cracow that Poland is today the testing ground for the future 'World State.' The 'just regime' established here will be the pattern for the other nations under German protection.

The war, however, is not over. The end may yet be different from that envisaged by the Fascist ambitions. Successful aggression has reached its zenith. The subjugation of continental Europe has not brought the Nazis the peace they need for the consolidation of their conquests. The British Isles have withstood the dangers of invasion and are today a glorious fortress of the freedom of all nations. The powers of violence, undermined from within by the hatred of all enslaved peoples, cannot last.

Deep faith in the victory of justice and freedom, and profound conviction that despite its apparent strength today aggressive barbarism must lose in the end, have endowed the Polish people, its working masses in cities and villages, with indomitable courage in the face of the invader.

### FIGHTING UNDERGROUND

We have been forced underground. Every moment the bloody terror claims victims among us. Despite the fact that the slightest connection with the work of liberation—even the reading or possession of an illegal newspaper—is punished by execution or by slow death in a concentration camp, a far-flung network of freedom has come into being in the darkness of conspiracy. It has created an invincible stream that steadily undermines the conqueror, surrounding him with the implacable hatred of all Poles which will never permit him to strike root and consolidate his power in our country.

We are still a nation of thirty million, free in spirit, united in the common effort to overthrow the brutal tyranny of the invaders. Our methods have been tested throughout a century of struggle for national independence. Our movement grows daily in scope and strength, negating all attempts of the propaganda to undermine our faith in the ultimate restoration of Poland.

We are cut off from the world by the frontiers of the occupation. The radio—forbidden, but carefully concealed from the enemy's eyes—is our only link with other nations. But we know that the spirit or resistance is already awake in the peoples enslaved by Hitlerism and Fascism. Every manifestation of revolutionary activity, every news of secret preparation for the overthrow of the oppressor, awakens echoes of solidarity in Poland. Warm comradeship links us with all subjected nations who fight against intolerable tyranny of the occupation. Our common fate must lead to common

action. Co-operation today in the underground struggle to hasten the moment of liberation, to weaken the enemy and thus render the final blow more decisive, will build a firm bond of understanding between the peoples of Europe. The Europe of tomorrow which will be born out of this bloody conflict will be rebuilt securely upon new foundations: it will be a Free Union of Free and Equal Peoples.

. . . Our struggle, like the struggles of other oppressed nations, is carried on by united effort to a common end: freedom and social justice in our own land, and a new and better order in Europe.

We are firmly convinced that the enemy will be overthrown in the end. At the first opportunity the conquered peoples will arise to strike the death blow to the invader. Therefore, in the name of the Polish people, working and fighting in underground conspiracy, we call to the peoples of the world.

We call to all who have risen in arms to fight the powers of oppression, to all who wage an underground struggle against the dark terror.

We call, too, to the nations who are still outside the armed conflict in this historic tragedy.

We call to the people of Germany, of Italy, of Russia!

No persecutions can compel us to abandon the banner of national and social liberty.

We call to the peoples of the world to join with us!

Look at the bloody face of the "New Order" which a victorious totalitarianism holds in promise. Look at our country which is being transformed into a vast graveyard! This is the fate which awaits the conquered. The brutal methods of wholesale extermination, the systematic moral and physical tortures which are inflicted today by the invaders upon millions of people outdo the darkest pages of human history.

The war of today, the war against the instigators of war, is above all a defense of the very foundations of civilization, a defense of the most elementary human rights. In this conflict no one can remain neutral. We call upon the working people of the world to unite with us in the struggle against the new tyranny. Let the century-old slogan of Polish liberation—

### FOR YOUR FREEDOM AND FOR OURS!

lead us in our fight for

**FREEDOM, EQUALITY, and  
INDEPENDENCE!**

**THE UNDERGROUND MOVEMENT OF THE  
WORKING MASSES OF POLAND.**